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512 857 The occupation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

512 The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and [515] immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combing their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add [302] some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

512 462 252 Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll 512 about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

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sounded from within the enclosure. While the women sit and chat after the taro is in the *liga*, Macrabit, as usual, plays the part of the clown. She causes much merriment by taking a fishing-net and walking about with it as if she were a man. Two other old women play a form of hide-and-seek, hiding behind the trees and walking about in a creeping fashion. So also do they sit playfully on the legs and backs of other women. This occurs between women of different moieties, and resembles on a small scale the playful fighting of the pregnancy rites. I was told that it is now done because the boys were to be circumcised soon.

When the food is removed from the *liga*, most of it is left at Ponatlege, although the men eat a small part of it in the compound in front of the men's house, and some small bundles are taken home by the women. As they walk home, single file along the narrow footpath, baskets on their backs, some of them do their dancing step. There is a general air of jollification.

Late that afternoon much excitement and a real "before the ball" atmosphere prevails. The women arrange the yellow *puhpuh* flower in their hair, put on their best loin-cloths and their *kepkeps* (breast ornaments) and *biuks* (arm-bands).[1] At sunset there is a final short dance rehearsal under Ballock's direction. When this is over all the women, much excited and carrying bundles of the yellow *puhpuh* as well as having stuck it behind the ear, start off for Ponatlege. The men set out a bit later. As the women enter the hamlet, an old man gives each one some white lime which she puts on her face.

Women and men from Langania and Ambwa are also present. The latter sit in small groups in front of the men's house and out in the compound. The women begin dancing almost immediately, and the men, much interested, watch

[1] There was also a demand for red crêpe paper and tinsel trimming from me, both of which were twisted around the hair.

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881 778 Early in the morning, on the day of the rites, the *kolamuth* is sounded at Ponatlege. The men go into the enclosure and look at the unpainted *malanggans* which have been placed in the little grass house. In about fifteen minutes they emerge into the open compound. This is just the preliminary appearance of the *malanggan*, because the boys are coming out of the enclosure to-day.[1]

In the open compound the men and women sit in their separate groups, chatting. There is a general air of expectancy. Soon singing is heard in the distance. It comes closer. The women get up and go inside the open cook-house, and most of the men go inside the enclosure, although a few remain outside in the compound. The eight boys, accompanied by twenty men (from Tagam), advance into the compound in block formation of five lines, singing. This is called the *Bumän* dance. The hair of the boys is painted red, and each one carries a bundle of baked taro and a piece of pig's entrails wrapped in leaves. They halt and stop singing. Takou, the father of two of the boys and the maker of one of the *malaggans* to be displayed, then steps out and speaks. "All of you have come because of these boys. Now this *Bumän* rite is done in Ponatlege. My mother knew this *Bumän* in Penguli where she lived. To-day the *Bumän* is done in Ponatlege. Suppose my mother had not known the *Bumän*, then I, Takou, could not know it. I talk to all you men and to all you women. I have talked enough. Suppose you have a big man; he will talk much more to you. But I am a little boy.[2] All of you, all the men, all the women, all the Luluai (chiefs), all of us have come here for this little *malanggan*. That's all. Suppose it is big *malanggan* rite, then there would be a big speech. But Ponatlege is a new place,

[535] [302] [797]

[1] When they come out they will go to the Mission school. In the past they would have stayed within the enclosure until the finished *malanggans* were displayed. Now when they come out the unpainted *malanggans* are shown.

[2] The speaker is a large, adult man, but the custom is to belittle oneself.

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881 778 the *kolamuth*). When I was a little boy my grandfather gave it to me, and now I use it well. It is not good that you say, 'Who gave it to him?' Now you know; it was my grandfather who gave it to me." He sits down.

[302] Now four men come in, faces smeared with white lime, hair decorated with leaves, and carrying leaves and a shell rattle in their hands.[1] Silently they dance up to the *malanggan*. One hurls a stick, as if it were a spear, at the round enclosure in the centre of the *Kolebmur malanggan*, which represents a door and is called by that name, *mut*. When the stick hits it a plank behind falls down, leaving an opening. The stick is laid in the centre of the enclosure before the *malanggan*. The four men now sit down in front of the *malanggan* and sing. When they stop Lungow picks up a betel-nut from the ground in front of the *malanggan* and says, "This betel-nut belongs to the *Walik malanggan*." Picking up the betel-nut is a signal that the dancing is over and that the feasting will begin. If anyone should rise before this signal it is thought that some disaster would befall him; he might fall from a tree.

[262] Two young men bring in a baked pig and place it on the ground beside the *malanggan*. Two large bundles of baked taro and another pig are already there, and two other pigs are on top of the *malanggan*. All the pigs have been contributed by Sola, Mekeo, Lungow, and Lumaeris, the owners of the *malanggans*. Sola stands up, holding in his hands [293] the bird's beak (*Notinamaen*), the black wooden rattle containing pigs' teeth (*Tumba*), the headdress of feathers (*Bilut*), all used by the two men who had been swaying back of the 881 778 *malanggan*. He says: "You see the *kanda* (stick thrown at the 537 *malanggan*), the *notinamaén*, the *bilut*, the *tumba*: Now if I,

[1] These men are of different clans and moieties, but the one who hurls the stick is of the same clan as the man who is displaying the *malanggan*. The former says that his clan relatives taught him how to "shoot the door."

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The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The men and women sit around in a large open space in the centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the women are on the other side; even quite young children observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day. Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

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Early the next morning everyone again assembles at Ponatlege. First comes the distribution of food. The women of Tagam (Ponatlege and neighbouring hamlets) give to the other women baked taro and pigs' entrails.

Then follows an interval when everyone waits for the dancing to be resumed. In come the women from Tagam and a few from Langania (one of the boys who has been circumcised is from Langania). Most of the women have their hair painted red, but a few have it a vivid blue. All have a smudge of the white powdered lime on their cheeks, and each one holds a leaf. They perform the *Bilalo* dance, which is one of the abstract formations. During the dance one man with powdered lime in his hand strikes one of the dancers on the back. A woman also with the powdered lime hits a dancer on the back. Later the dancer will give the person who hits him some tobacco. This action takes place frequently during all the dances, and occurs between two people who stand in the *tamangaina* and *ripunga* relationship.[1] The action just described always occurs whenever there is ritual dancing, and usually provokes laughter from the audience. I was unable to get any explanation of it from the natives, except that it always occurs between the kindred mentioned.

This dance is the first performed by women in these concluding rites. The dancers come from the same hamlets as the boys who were initiated. When the boys went to be circumcised, the women from all the surrounding villages danced and the men formed the audience. When the boys come out from the enclosure, it is the men from all the near-by villages who dance and the

[1] The first is the relation between a man or a woman and their father's sister, and the second is the relationship between a man and his father's sister's son or his mother's brother's son, and between a woman and her mother's brother's daughter or her father's sister's daughter's daughter. When the relationship is between two females, the term is *Rapungaina* (*ina* being a suffix denoting female).

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where, and the promiscuity is thus followed by a week of continence.

The morning following the *Burutk* dance an Ambwa man carries back to his own village a half of pig which was given him. He is followed by the man who gave him the half pig, and by several of the boys who have been circumcised. These boys, decorated with leaves and carrying the wooden rattle, *tárruk*, used in one of the dances and an empty basket, run all the way to Ambwa, a distance of about three miles. When they arrive in the village they stand in front of the houses and shake the rattles. The women see them and call to the men who are on the beach. The latter come and give the boys tobacco, *tsera*, and loin-cloths, which they put in the baskets and carry home with them. The same incident happened when another group of the eight circumcised boys followed a half pig to the village of Langania. These payments according to native explanation are not believed to be made for any specific thing, but are merely part of the rites pertaining to the *Walik* and *Kolebmur malanggans*.

A little over a week after this the women of Tagam go through a similar rite. Singing the song of the *Burutk* dance, they walk to Ambwa. Their hair is painted red and decorated with leaves, and their faces are painted red and white. There are two kinds of facial decoration. For the young girls, to whom this is the first participation in the *Walik malanggan* rites, the decoration is a round red circle on each cheek. The older women who have participated in many *Walik malanggan* rites have similar circles on their cheeks, and in addition a line connecting them over the forehead.

When they arrive at Ambwa they all sit down and rest for a while, and then the Ambwa women give them bundles of baked taro, baked fish, and coconuts. Carrying the food they return, still singing, and on the way back stop at each hamlet of Lesu where they are given more food. The women

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society, as the initiation rites mark the entrance of boys into adult male society.

While the people of Lesu have no record of ages and no unit of the year, there is some knowledge from observation of the development of the body (particularly the size of the breasts) as to when the first menses may be expected. Everyone knows that some time within the next eight or ten moons a young girl will reach puberty. When I asked who of the village would probably reach puberty during my visit, I was told that most likely it would be Tsuros. And that is as it happened. Tsuros has her first menses, and the news spreads eagerly through the village. It is talked about as a great event. Immediately bananas are brought by the women of both moieties and buried in the sand by the men, in preparation for the feast which will soon be held.

There is no seclusion for the girl during this period of her first menses, at the end of which is her ritual washing. Just before sunrise she is washed in the sea by an old woman, who holds in her hand a branch of the tree *tsil*. The girl and the old woman stand in the rather shallow water just off the reef as the old woman dips the leaves in the sea and then waves them over the girl, touching the various parts of her body with the wet leaves. As she does so she says the following spell:

> Leaf, leaf, I wash her,
> Soon her breasts will develop,
> I take away sickness of blood.

Then the leaves are mixed with white lime and rubbed all over the body of the girl by the same old woman, and after that she paints the girl's hair red. The old woman is not chosen for her relationship to the girl, or because she is of any particular moiety or clan, but merely because of her knowledge of the spell. Should the ritual washing of the girl not occur, it is thought that her breasts will not develop, and she would therefore lack the symbol of womanhood.

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832 died she married a fairly mature man. She added that she [587] liked him, too.

The firmness of a woman's breasts is much stressed. The breasts are uncovered, and so are very obvious. A middle-aged woman's breasts which hang loosely are not objects of beauty by any aesthetic standards.

832 The hair, which is kinky and stands out from the head, 302 is an important factor in beauty, and much time and attention are put on it. The natural colour of the hair is black, but it is very rarely that it is seen in this colour. It is the universal custom for both sexes of all ages to "paint" their hair with powdered white lime, and the result is a great variety in shades of tan, depending on when it was last "painted." [1] The hair is frequently combed, and if a native wants to make himself particularly attractive he spends hours on his hair, combing, "painting" it, etc. A flower behind the ear, a wreath of leaves around the head, are all considered adornments.[2] Practically everyone has lice, and [515] looking for each other's lice is a never-ending pastime between friends. A bald-headed man is considered an object [142] of ridicule and very ugly. He is a most unusual type, and there were none in Lesu. I had for a short time a Papuan cook-boy who was bald. He tried to seduce some of the village women, but without success. They all laughed at him, and mocked him openly for his baldness. He was also short, another point not in his favour. He finally took to boasting of his conquests on other islands where he had worked, but this, too, left the village belles untouched. Women prefer clean-shaven men to bearded ones. In the

[1] For many of the ritual dances the hair is "painted" red or blue. A few of the more sophisticated natives who have been to Rabaul have learned the whitening effect of peroxide, and use it whenever they can procure it.

[2] I gave them some tinsel (Christmas-tree decoration) and gaily coloured crêpe paper. Both were immediately put around the hair in the fashion of a crown and were much in demand.

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past shaving, or rather the extraction of hair, was done with a shark's tooth. It is still used to-day, but when possible a razor blade is obtained from a trader. Finger-nails are shortened by biting them.

In addition to hair decorating there are facial decorations, and the favourite style for both sexes is the painting of a yellow circle around one eye. A broad band of white lime on the forehead is likewise considered attractive. There are other types of facial adornment which are used only in connection with ritual dancing and a : described in that context.

The familiar disease, ringworm, makes a person of either sex undesirable for marriage, but not for intercourse. For example, Landa, from the village of Langania, was married when quite young, and her husband died after a brief period. Afterwards she contracted the ringworm disease. For quite a few years now she has been noted for her many lovers, by some of whom she has had children, but none of these lovers will marry her because of her skin disease. The sexual act may be performed with a minimum of body touching, but the men are afraid of catching the disease if they marry her. However, just before I left New Ireland Landa married an elderly man, who, I was told, could get no one else. Aside from the ringworm and a rather large stomach, she was not unattractive, and seemed to have a pleasant and rather vivid personality, and was one of the most energetic and industrious of the women at the communal food preparations.

In general, the physical parts of the body which have aesthetic and sexual attraction for the Melanesian in New Ireland do not differ so much from those of our own culture. They are mainly health, the breasts, the colour of the skin, and the hair. Eyes are also regarded as of importance, and small ones are considered the most attractive.

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764 on. This was kept up all night. In the morning the women
535 went again to the gardens and brought in more taro, while women from other villages arrived, also carrying taro, which they hung on bamboo poles fastened between trees. In the afternoon the women were busy scraping the taro and preparing it to be baked in the *liga*, while the men singed pigs, wrapped the fish in leaves, and did their share in the preparations for the feast which would take place tomorrow. The wailing continued at the same time. In charge of these preparations were Soles and Malalis.

That night the men danced. About fifty of them, decorated with leaves and carrying spears which are longer than they are, circled around the fire. To the music of the drums, they continued their dancing during the night. When one group stopped, another began. The dances were mostly of the abstract and rather intricate, circle, square, and line formation. One group had their bodies painted with white [302] powdered lime, leaves stuck behind as if they were tails, and as they danced rhythmically shook the shell rattles they carried in their hands. Hour after hour they went on. The men and women in the "audience" sat separately and watched them. When the dancers appeared to lag, Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, stood up, and holding a torch cried out that on the morrow they would receive 764 tobacco. At daybreak they stopped. There was a little rest before the dead woman was carried into the cemetery. About the middle of the morning a group of twenty women of the Hawk moiety, their hair decorated with leaves, entered the compound singing. Tubung was wailing over the body of her dead mother. The group of women advanced in [482] block formation to the coffin, and lifting it to their shoulders carried it into the cemetery. Tubung walked behind wailing. They deposited the coffin by the open grave which had previously been dug. The women immediately left the cemetery and stood weeping near the entrance. The men entered,

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423 Porton Nosi—Belonging to clan Balus, sub-group, Lamis. Principal man, Arkai of Madina and later of Laraibin, who will receive the purchase money and
432 distribute it according to custom.

614 Portion Porokalaman—Belonging to clan Babanga, sub-group, Savinu. Principal man, Lamani of Madina, who will receive the purchase money and distribute it in accordance with custom. In this case the Luluai of Luaupul and Arakai of Madina are entitled to a share as compensation for gifts of ground made by the original owners to their ancestors and parents, the Luluai of Luaupul being the son of the sister of Lombu, the last owner of the ground. Lombu, before he died, permitted the father of Arakai to plant and use part of the ground.

Portion Seladara—Belonging to Mununggak clan. Principal man, Kauavek of Madina, who will distribute it among the people entitled. In this case, two women of Lugagun share in the purchase money.

Portion Lemagaf—Belonging to clan Arigaum. Names of principal men not given.

Portion Naberabera—Belonging to clan Balus. Names of principal men not given.

The last two portions belong to people of Luaupul, who were not present at the inquiry, and regarding whose ownership the people of Madina were unable to give me particulars.

142 Physically the people of the East coast are of medium height and robust build. They are woolly-haired and brown-eyed; the skin colour varies from light to dark brown, many being almost black; usually the cheek bones are prominent; in many cases the nose is concave and deep-rooted below prominent brow ridges, but a straight or convex nose is frequently seen. There is little prognathism. Many of the men and women are distinctly pleasant faced. Usually the hair is [302] bleached with lime, and worn fairly short in well-combed frizzy mops. In the vicinity of Kandan I saw bald-headed old men wearing neatly made wigs of human hair twisted into short ringlets. There are many [143] fair-haired people with brick-red skin who were said to have been born thus, and two or three cases of true albinism were found.

226 The coastal people fish with spears, nets and lines. In many places they go out into deep water in canoes, and catch sharks by the noose and rattle method that has been described before. Shark fishing expeditions are attended with considerable magical preparation. Representations of sharks appear in the carved portions of the canoe. Small fish for bait are caught secretly at night "so that sharks will not know what is threatening them." No one but the fisherman sees this going on. The operation involves certain sacrifices on the part of those engaged in it, such as food tabu, keeping away from women, &c. The expedition starts at break of dawn, before any one else is awake. The canoe men watch their opportunity and shoot out through the breakers. They make their way right out to sea looking for timber and drift wood washed out by the rains. Here small fish gather together in large numbers and attract the sharks. The rattles are sounded and the sharks thinking it is the noise made by sea birds

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165 adequately with the problems arising from these conditions. The high infant mortality rate in places as favorably situated as Munuwai, Losuk, Nono, Laraibina, Lugagun, &c., however, is difficult to explain. Between Munuwai and Kavieng, the conditions of life for child-bearing women and for infants are not so difficult as those in villages [853] lower down the road. In all the villages above-named, infants are commonly fed on taro and other solid foods. Mission influence however is very strongly established in this part of the district, and, as the villages are within reach of the medical authorities at Kavieng, conditions should improve as time goes on.

## OLD PEOPLE.

162 It is amazing to find on this road such a large number of extremely 145 old people. Nowhere else in the Territory have I noticed so many. The males numbered 604 and the females 815. Practically all of them were grey-haired or bald, and in the lower end of the road many [302] of the bald men wore neat wigs of human hair. Some of them are survivors of the old black-birding days, having worked on the cane-fields in Queensland. It is doubtful if many of these old people will survive another two years, a possibility that might be remembered when the death rates for the next few years are being tabulated.

## WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE.

162 Out of the women enumerated, I counted 1,779 who were definitely said by the elders to be the fertile women on whom the future population depended, until females at present under age of puberty could become married. The number of reproductive women is probably larger, but I could only estimate this figure, and in this was assisted by the old men.

## ABORTION.

847 The tables disclose a large number of fruitless unions, 34 per cent. of which are due apparently to sterility. Some of my informants 842 told me that the women chew the leaves of plants and drink infusions from leaves, roots, &c., both to prevent conception and to procure abortion. It is not easy for a male observer to disentangle the mass of information offered on this subject, but, as Dr. (Miss) Powdermaker is now making an intensive study in the area with especial reference to women, valuable data may shortly be forthcoming. It is said there are also mechanical methods of procuring abortion. A peculiar aspect of the information regarding sterility is that women chew certain leaves when newly married, and become sterile, but, when later on they desire to have children, another species of plant is eaten to restore fertility. This could not be closely investigated, but my information has been passed on to Dr. Powdermaker, who may be successful in securing reliable information on the point.